241 [412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

[221] [412] The planting is done between April and May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must [242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small [824] corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 462 785 834 The task of planting is a very delicate matter, to be performed after fasting and sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's affair. A great banquet is served at noon, 241 574 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as [476] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 262 272 574 [263] When things are properly done, the meal consists of a number of items. First the *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-uaj*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 252 262 574 After this preliminary snack comes what is considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish broth prepared from dough and ground chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;

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TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A]

241 252 262 574 272 [415] boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which are made from dough and whole beans; and finally, still more atole. The atole is served not in individual *jícaras* but in two or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which are passed from person to person. The same is done with the other foods; they are served in one or two large pots (*mucul pulato*) out of which everyone serves himself. This banquet is given only on the first day of the planting; if other days are required, the milpero himself does the planting.

241 574 Since weeds grow rapidly during the rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice before it reaches maturity. For this the luk or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the same one used to break the soil before planting. The first weeding is done in June, the second between July and August. Women [462] help their husbands in this chore and some- [566] times do it entirely themselves, since the [464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapachula to work as peons on the coffee plantations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varieties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, according to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large common bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*; and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15–20 m. square. The planting is done during the first weeks of March, in alternate years so that it will not coincide with the year when the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-ik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits are ready (*unimajam* or *jilote*, according to Ladinos). These are received with great joy by the families which are by then lack- [242] ing food. From each plant, which provides two or three *jilotes*, the farthest down is picked to let the other two grow bigger. [252] These jilotes are boiled without salt and [263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
[262] [P 201-A]

241 782 [825] *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague notions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals. 241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 [184] [789] Another mukul-mixa is performed in Oxchuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau, near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchueqeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 [231] [437] Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when

[P. 202-B]

262 they visit the regional market. Only during
235 illness or fiesta are both chickens and eggs
[437] eaten.

231 In towns like Tenejapa and Cancuc, In-
439 dians buy small pigs from the Ladinos of the center, fatten them for 8 or 10 months, then sell them to the Ladinos, who slaughter them and sell the meat to the Indians. As may be supposed, in this sort of symbiosis the greatest profit accrues to the La-
[454] dinos. However, the Indians more often keep the money from selling pigs to meet emergencies or expenses of clothing, tools, and fiestas.

262 *Food Habits*

Corn, beans, chile, and squash are the core of Indian diet, supplemented by ma-
262 nioc, sweetpotato, potato, and chayote. One
263 or more chayote trees next to the house are common; every part of the chayote is used—fruit, tender leaves, and root—usually boiled with salt. Wild herbs are eaten raw or cooked. Among the raw ones are *culix-uamal*, *xhix-uamal*, and *alauanex*, the last a wild radish which Ladinos call "the Indian's radish." Herbs that are cooked include *tzul* and *tuxac*. Some herbs are eaten both raw or cooked: *verdolaga* or *chic-xecul*, *muem* (*hierba mora*), *maj-tas*, *tzuy*, and *San Sibro Uamal*. The last is a small grass with long
[276] thin leaves which the Indians grind and add to give a better taste to the *pilico* or wild tobacco. This is called *poxil-may*, which is like saying "medicinal pilico." Ladinos use its leaves in tea sweetened with panela.

262 There are three main meals during the
264 course of the day: breakfast (*ue-el sab*), which consists of atole or pozole, beans, chile, and tortillas; lunch (*ue-el olical*) of the same foods plus a vegetable such as squash or chayote; and supper (*ue-el x-malcal*), with atole, tortillas, beans, and
177 chile. In Tenejapa rabbit meat is frequently
262 on the table. In Amatenango, Aguacatenango, and Pinola, greater contact with Ladinos has added coffee, wheat bread, var-

[P-203-A]

177 ious meats and canned foods such as
262 salmon, sardines, and sausages.

231 The keeping of bees is not widespread.
[222] The Indians instead take advantage of the wild honey, which is commonly gathered during certain parts of the year. Tenango was the only town where I observed beehives next to the huts. The bees, large and yellow, are called *aja-chab* and are brought from the woods. When a tree is found with one of these beehives, the section containing the hive is cut off and is taken to town; the ends of this section are covered with jicaras, which are stuck on with clay.

Settlement Patterns

Town and Parajes

632 All the communities consist of a town center
621 and a number of settlements, called parajes,
361 which are scattered over the municipio. The town is the political, religious, and commercial center of the entire community; there the municipal authorities have their offices,
[563] and the church and shops are located. In general, the Ladinos reside in the center, their houses arranged in aligned streets, but some communities (Chanal, Amatenango, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Bachajon) refuse to accept Ladinos in the town permanently. The Indians prefer the parajes, where the huts are dispersed irregularly.

162 As observed by Sol Tax for the highlands of Guatemala (1937), the proportion of Indians who reside in the town center varies. In some communities (Chanal, Aguacatenango, Cancuc, Tenango) nearly all the people live in the capital. In Chanal, with a population of 2,881 persons, 2,386 reside in the center and so it is a "nucleated town," according to Tax's terminology. In contrast, the most common community is the "vacant town." Tenejapa, for example, has only 517 inhabitants of a total 7,750 residing in the center. The least frequent is an intermediate type, where some live in the center and some in the parajes, as typified by

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

273* The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated with the serving of food by the sponsors to the guests. The alternate possibilities are included in the following table:

TABLE 13

FOODS AND BEVERAGES ACCOMPANYING CEREMONIAL DRINKING

	Food	Beverage
[272]	Beans	coffee
tortillas and	chicken broth with a chunk of chicken	aguardiente
	beef broth with a chunk of beef	chocolate
	turkey broth with a chunk of turkey	

The relative prestige of the food served increases with the descending order.

273* The duration of a ceremonial drinking cycle is well-defined. It does not last beyond an eight-hour period, in general. Its termination is marked, as has been noted above, by the departure of the marimba from the scene and by the fact that the host ceases to serve aguardiente. Individuals who continue to drink after the ceremonial cycle is terminated do so under informal drinking rules.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 191 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzo'ontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not 423 433 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

868
857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not
[323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi-
[312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal,* or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The
[592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes
[462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of
[411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats
[262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the
868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers
241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven.

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.*

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereš, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.*

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucia. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr:

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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San Pablo? So it is that we are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, if it is not much, you elders. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, the water that washed his body, his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo [reference to liquor]. God thank mother and father, mam kobraria."

As the mayordomos prepare to leave the house, the following exchange takes place:

Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: "What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of the Kobraria Sakramentu? Why is it he does not want us to drink too much? It is good, we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember, you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries and with our kerchiefs and our candles? Is there anything you want to say?"

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "It is good. I am going to ask you all if you are ready with your rosary and with your cloth to take the holy candles."

Mayordomos: "Yes, good, we are ready, thank you."

Cofrade of Santa Lucia: "Only one more thing do I have to say. Do not drink too much trago. I do not want you to walk like a mad man. I do not want anyone to say that the kobraria did not say anything to advise you."

Mayordomos: "Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us raise our mud, our soil [reference to body]."

The group goes on to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento who is awaiting them with his nakawanehetik, his b'alnialetik, and the female assistants in the house. They enter saying "Good day, Mamal," greeting first the b'alnialetik, then the third nakawane, then the second nakawane, and finally the first nakawane. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia stands before the first nakawane and recites the spatbeyo?tan. Then he goes on to speak to the me?il k'op, *or woman speaker, who is referred to in this instance as the* me?c'ukuša?il, *"woman who nursed us."*

The women of the kobraria's kindred, the sisters and first cousins and wives of his brothers, remain inside the house as the men sit on the benches on the porch. The nakawane orders the b'alnialetik to serve the mouthwash which is followed by coffee and tortillas. After another

[792]
[267]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [291]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal *(literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"), the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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bull, and the women prepared beef stew and made tortillas and coffee. The floor of the house was strewn with pine needles.

At noon, two alfereces led the procession of police, judges, síndico, and principales as they collected money for the fiesta. The alfereces held the banners with an embroidered cloth. The movements of the procession were initiated with church bells ringing and rockets set off by two junior mayordomos as they left the church and as they arrived at and left each of the seven "stands," locations marked by crosses at the intersections of the major streets of the village. When they arrived at each stand, the alfereces stood holding the banners and the other civil and religious officials sat on the side of the road, smoking and drinking. The five police scattered, going to collect 5 pesos from each household. When they returned, the síndico noted the amount received and the principales held the money in a tin tray.

When the group arrived back at the church at two-thirty, the alfereces put the banners in the rear corner of the church. They went to the altar rail, knelt and prayed, crossed themselves and kissed first the image of Santiago, then all the other images. The music of drum and flute was played in the church courtyard, and firecrackers were set off. A table was set up to the right of the door of the church, and there the money was counted. As the officials came out of the church, they made the rounds of the seated officials, greeting them with the pat?o?tan. The officials arranged themselves in the traditional pattern: The fiscal and town treasurer stood at the table counting the money before the assembled officials. The principales and judges, stood immediately before the table watching the fiscal and treasurer; their position indicated their guardian role. Bills of the same denomination were set in piles under stones to prevent their blowing away, and then tied into bundles with palm fronds. When all the money had been counted, the principales put it in a manila folder, and the treasurer wrapped this in a red kerchief. The striking of the church bells announced the end of the counting.

All the relatives—the yermanotak, or "brotherhood" group, including bilaterally-extended brothers and brothers-in-law and their wives, compadres, and neighbors—were invited to partake of the meal in the afternoon at the houses of the alfereces. The nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik, rela-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

their eyes, the posture of dance in which they clasped their hands at their stomach-band—all of these manifested the shame that they were overcoming. Whether they really felt the shame or not was irrelevant since they were being judged in terms of their behavior. The wives circled around with a two-step, their eyes downcast and their hands clasped over their stomach-bands, while their husbands stepped up and down in place in a ring around them, shaking the gourd rattle and joking.

When the dancing was terminated, a joking session was initiated by the nakawane. The signal for this was the lighting of the first round of cigarettes. Smoking, like drinking, was required of everyone and was rarely indulged in privately. The women sometimes put aside the cigarettes, but they had to accept them. At midnight a meal of bean tortillas and coffee was served.

The fourth day (Šlok' Krus). *The four regidores arrived early in the morning to raise the alférez and take him to the cabildo to receive the oath. In this function the regidores were referred to as* personaetik *or "persons." The Spanish term* persona *signifies the exterior appearance by which men of merit were distinguished, and in its Latin derivation persona is the mask by which role is indicated. I think it is in the sense of assuming a new identity that the Indians incorporated the term as a reference for specific roles assumed by the regidores at this time. The alcaldes, or judges, were on this day referred to as* koronaetik, *or colonels. This reference term evoked the military ranking system, as did also the term alférez or captain, and established the relative ranking of the two sets of officials in the cabildo on the day of receiving the banners. The alfereces were given titles to indicate the order of their entry into office. The seating order of the four in the cabildo followed the succession pattern, with the first to take office sitting nearest to the door.*

The new alférez, with two of his four escorts on either side, sat on the visitor's bench along with the higher officials, themselves once alfereces. The first regidor, or persona, addressed the first judge with the pat?o?tan. The fourth regidor distributed a liter of trago to the assembled officials, first to the judges, then the president and síndico, the alfereces, the person-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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796 is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrass-
154 ment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the
[273] house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted
[276] their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of ciga-
[522] rettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal re-straints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

541 *Carnival and Easter Week.* Carnival has changed over time more
522 than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a
177 group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas.
178 They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

541 Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of
262 squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobra-
794 ria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds
177 each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of
178 the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic
[931] of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

796 The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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796 *pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo*
[533] *will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the*
[788] *cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo*
[533] *knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the*
[273] *church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.*

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] *matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.*

[533] *Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After*
[273] *sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the*
[262] *mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, degrain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *zacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degraining, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

The Annual Cycle

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotonču with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

9:Nash · E-5 (1964) 1970 · NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Appendix 1 — Change of Officials in the Townhall

	Question	Informant 3 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?aẽ ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
514	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [262]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[273]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*statal nakawane*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balnial*, assistants to past gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak' si?etik'*: wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[624]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanehetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mas* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mas* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

(*K'a s?ahbal yak helol*). They said *pat?ot'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kus' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op, kus' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

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19.	Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
20.	Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
21.	What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam ḳoz)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
22.	How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
23.	Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?alibal*. The wife of the *Biḳtal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
24.	What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
25.	What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wiśpereś	
26.	What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
27.	What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
28.	What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
29.	Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
30.	Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
31.	Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
32.	What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
33.	What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
34.	How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *naḳawaneḳetik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
35.	How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
36.	What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
37.	What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro' sanpablu? So it is that we	